1:Sanders Z-5M (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

178 the Turks and where people were isolated. Where urban civilization has
593 reached, the young people laugh at the old customs. In the Peloponnesos I
576 heard that "the people are more intelligent today and are not as respectful
[369] of each other and their elders. They know the answers to questions themselves and do not have to ask." A man from near Thebes expressed the matter in a way typical of comments in many parts of Greece: "In my youth the father's opinion and word was law; nowadays a rebellious breeze is blowing among the boys. The old patriarchal atmosphere does not exist; the father still is the boss but not as much as formerly. The patriarchal idea was strong in the past because the old man had had experience and knew better than the rest how to meet emergencies. Today with education the young man can argue and reason. Nowadays, with the development of civilization, the youth has the possibility of getting knowledge." Military service with its travel outside the immediate region and the contact it affords with young men from all over the country instills a certain new independence in the sons.

593 Much mention has been made of sons and the young men. Daughters,
369 too, have their problems with their parents. One man whose daughter had gone with him and the rest of the family to live in the city during the Communist guerrilla war did not want to return to her native village. She was fourteen when she had made the move.

We asked: "How will she get used to village life after being in the city for so long?"

Her father replied: "Where was she born?"

"Here, I suppose."

"Well, her roots are here and she should get used to living here again."

It was not the words so much as his tone and mien which communicated the thought that he was not going to allow his daughter to entertain any ideas that she was too good for village life.

593 Most daughters, however, do leave home as brides. There are beautiful
585 customs which symbolize this separation. It is customary throughout Greece at such a time to break a pomegranate. Some say this is done so that the
[591] bride will have many children, for the seeds of the pomegranate signify
[824] fertility. Others says that it means a broken heart and expresses the sadness of parting from the childhood home. But parents, especially the mother, give much advice on how to adjust to the new home and urge the daughter to accept the new household as her own family. A particularly touching
[271] scene is the giving of the last glass of water by the mother to the daughter on departure.

The Wife and Her In-Laws

591 Part of getting along with one's husband is getting along with the mem-
596 bers of his immediate family, particularly if they are living in the same
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law.

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law.

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home.

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation.

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
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mately the standard she had at home? How many brothers does the groom have who are also going to be farmers and who will, therefore, have to share the house itself, or for whom some housing provision must eventually be made? Because personal qualities of the prospective groom will influence the success with which he manages his own and his dower properties, a father asks whether the groom has a reputation for industriousness. Is there any danger that the groom will "eat" the dowry properties, as the villagers phrase a propensity for using capital resources for current needs or for luxuries? Are the groom's father and brothers sober men who will conserve property and work to get the best income from it?

In short, the bride's father wants to assure, insofar as he is able, the future well-being of his daughter and of her children. He also wants the emotional satisfaction of having been successful at making a good arrangement for her. One village father pointed to a field we were passing and explained that he had given it to his daughter as part of her *prika* (dowry), so that all the cotton from the field was for his grandson. He then went on to say that he had married his daughter well and said of his three-year-old grandson, "Who knows, one day he might become a lawyer or a doctor. He has a brain, the little one." The implication was that he, the farmer, had contributed to whatever the final destiny of his grandson might be by having supplied such good fields for his daughter's dowry.

A girl's parents also want assurance that she will live in a congenial household. They hope that the new mother-in-law and the groom's sisters will accept the girl with good grace and that she will be decently treated. A man's wife and daughter will always remind him of the resources the family has already expended on the trousseau and the skill with which they were woven. From the women's point of view, these are important parts of the cost, and they want a girl to go to a family which will appreciate both the quantity and the fine workmanship of the *rukha*. Some friction between a girl and her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law is accepted in Vasilika as part of the condition of marriage to a farmer. The severity of friction is mitigated, however, by the independent dignity a girl acquires by having brought her husband a dowry and by the pride her husband's family takes in their own skill at having helped arrange a good marriage for their son.

The groom's interest, on the other hand, is to supplement his patrimony with as much land and cash as he can get from his wife's dowry. After their marriage, the husband and wife will have jurisdiction over her dowry properties. Unless the marriage contract states otherwise, and it rarely does in marriages between a farmer and a village girl, the husband has the right to the management and control of movable and personal property that he received with his wife and the management of the real estate given as part of the dowry. The alienation of movable dower property requires only the informal consent of his wife, while the alienation of real estate requires a formal notarized consent statement from his wife and the permission of the court (Civil Code Sections 1416 and 1417). (The groom's father, therefore, is interested only from the standpoint of the general welfare of his son. He himself will have no direct control over his daughter-in-law's land or money.)

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
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first group of holdings. Once again, no brother knows which parcel of land will become his until after the drawing of the lots. Each man, therefore, has a strong incentive to see to it that the partition of the land holdings is as equitable as possible. If the mother of the men is still living, the brothers set apart several *stremata* of land which will become part of the share of whatever brother she elects to live with. This represents her dower right. Still other small parcels of land, on the order of five to ten *stremata,* are assigned outright to the brothers who are no longer farmers and do not live in the village. The token land is kept in their names, "so that they may remember their father," as one villager puts it. The conferees next turn their attention to their animal holdings and once again group these into parcels of equal value. Farm equipment and the outbuildings are treated in the same way.

Once the shares for each kind of property are decided upon, an enumeration of each share for each type of holding is written on a piece of paper and rolled up to resemble a cigarette. At that point, the women and children are called in and the time for drawing the lots has arrived. A neighbor or one of the children (never any of the adults in the family) is invited to draw the lots, first for the land, then for the farm animals, then for the equipment and outbuildings,and then for the houses. The moment is a tense one, for in spite of all efforts to equalize the shares some will be considered more desirable than others. The old house, for example, is not desired as much as one of the new houses, and the family that draws it may be disappointed. After the lots are drawn, the mother decides where she will stay. In one recent instance, she stayed with the brother who won the old house (he was not the eldest) because she felt more comfortable there. In another, the mother went with her younger son who had drawn a new house because his child was still small and her services as a baby-tender were needed.

When the whole procedure is completed, the personal effects of each brother and his wife and children are moved to the appropriate house, the furniture is distributed, and that night, for the first time, each family sleeps alone in its own establishment.

Descriptions given of the drawing of lots always convey the strong emotional involvement the participants have in the proceedings. The occasion heralds a change in the routines of life and in each family's attitude toward his property. The women tell of their tears and wails as they bid each other farewell before leaving to spend their first night in separate houses. They also describe their sensations of loneliness and strangeness under the new circumstances. The fact that the houses are almost always close together because they must be built on family-owned house sites in the village seems not to lessen the sense of dispersion as far as the women are concerned. The brothers continue as neighbors. They cooperate in agricultural activities much as unrelated neighbors in the village do: they borrow plows, draught animals, and other equipment from whoever owns it. In the meantime, the sisters-in-law may call on each other for help in the housework, they draw water from the same well, and their children visit freely in each other's houses. In other words, face-to-face associations con-

"We moved to Athens as a family," said an islander, "my mother, her sisters and brothers, my grandfather, all the family." The Greek family is extensive, and in each case the term must be examined to find out what it includes. Second and third cousins are often in contact, and responsibility is felt for them also. They form links in the chain of relationship, so that personal contacts can be initiated. If a boy goes to Athens to attend the university, "if he has no uncles or other relatives, he rents a room". A Greek giving news usually speaks of "we" and the stock phrase beginning a letter is addressed to the plural "you", and refers to "we".

The father is in authority and he must be obeyed by all. A mother must be obeyed by the children, except when the oldest son has assumed the headship of the family. Older brothers are to be obeyed by the younger siblings. In conservative groups a son, whatever his age, has to be circumspect in the presence of his father; he may not smoke in his presence if the father objects to smoking. A father may not revel with his grown son at the tavern, and a considerate man, finding his son there, leaves the place. A wife waits upon her husband, and does not question his acts. If he fails her, if he becomes a drunkard or gambles away the family money, her *philotimo* will not allow her to reveal this, except, perhaps, to the priest. This is a matter of role and loyalty; it is not subservience. Greek women by tradition wait upon men, expect them to drink from the fountain first and to cross the bridge ahead of them; this does not make for inferiority, just as it does not make the American man inferior to wait for his wife to enter first, or to bring her water. The mother is a powerful and dominant figure, upholding fortitude and *philotimo*, sustaining her children in moral strength. There is no chivalry toward her in the village because there is respect for her. If her husband rides the only donkey, which she brought as dowry, while she walks behind him to the fields, it is because he considers her strong and able to do so. In the folk songs, girls are jealous of their rivals because they can wait on the man they love; this is the coveted role.

The relatives-by-marriage, the *sympetherica*, are also important in the Greek relationship group, and the older brother-in-law often functions as an older brother. The whole family is therefore concerned with the marital arrangements of the individual. Arranged marriages, with great stress on the dowry, were the rule until recent years, and are still common. The dowry persists, even when the marriage is individually arranged, and often interferes with higher education for the girls; money is spent for the sons' education, but must be saved for the daughters' dowry. Whether the dowry is demanded or not by the groom's family, it is to the honour of the bride's family to give it. In conservative areas and circles, girls still meet young men only in groups, still communicate with them only with their eyes or in secret correspondence and secret meetings; however, there is

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